1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood avoid passing the mound in the dark.

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed *tevolo* as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods, spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or "different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*, based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology.

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral" (26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs (p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

repaired as quickly as possible to its own for- 669
tress, lest it should be taken possession of by 726
some enemy. During the siege, all the women made themselves remarkable by their resolute assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for want of men, it should be taken by the enemy. The widows of Teoo Cava*, however, were so [768] [762] afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is said, strangled themselves†.

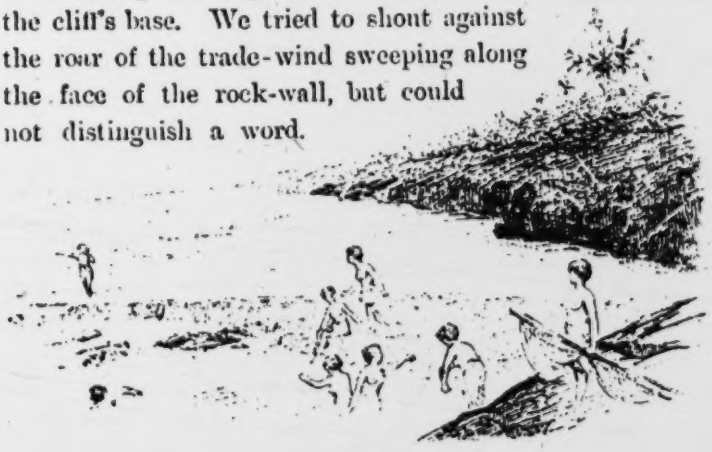
At this time, Toobo Malohi sent word to his 669 727

* Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind a circumstance, 728 mentioned in the second missionary voyage, respecting Eliza 643 Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American ship Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon; the date is [727] not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronunciation they call Ducava,) the crew were all murdered, excepting three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey, and the black woman. The latter was still at the Hapai islands when Mr. Mariner left; she latterly became insane, but lived as a sort of domestic, (being harmless,) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of the wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on that account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived at Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr. Mariner has since accidentally heard from a woman who had been at Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterwards to Tonga, with a ship that went for the purpose of laying in a cargo of pork, but which was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji islands.

† Mr. Mariner is not quite certain whether this report be correct: for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

caught me up at that strange white burying-ground, hung between sky and sea at the precipice's edge. He led me along the cliff to the open plain, whence, looking backward, one may see the hundred isles of Haafulu Hao spread out like a map. Leaving our horses, we crept together along the razor-edge that still connected a rocky pinnacle with the cliff from which it jutted. Clinging to the roots of a starving screw-pine, we knelt and felt the shaft twang as the great seas boomed into the caverns at the cliff's base. We tried to shout against the roar of the trade-wind sweeping along the face of the rock-wall, but could not distinguish a word.



The Liku in Tongatabu.

This place has been a favourite point of departure for the love-sick of Vavau who would escape their misery. Finau said that the body of a girl of Halaufuli, who leapt hence into eternity a few months before, never reached the water, but was sucked inwards by the cliff, and so dashed to pieces on the sharp rocks at its foot. Whether the attraction of the cliff would always do this or not, death would be certain in falling

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

762 from such a height, even if the body struck the water only.

And here let me digress on the subject of suicide. The rough average rate of suicide in the Pacific—the figures dealt with are too insignificant for unvarying accuracy—is about equal to the rate for the United Kingdom, viz., .006 per *mille* of the population; but since most of the suicides in Europe are committed under the influence of mania or

Mourning.

extreme misery,—conditions that are generally absent in these favoured isles,—we may assume that the Pacific islanders have a predisposition towards self-destruction. The usual causes are lovers' quarrels, and the fear of being
762 neglected in incurable illness. In the latter case suicide
761 is a mere survival of the old custom that constrained a sick man to importune his relations to strangle or bury him alive,—itself an evolution from an earlier time when

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

the existence of a family depended upon its having no disabled members to protect. The lovers' quarrels that result in suicide are quite as trivial as those of civilised communities. On the sudden impulse of some slight misunderstanding the distressed lover resorts to the picturesque but inadequate method of climbing to the top of a cocoa-nut-palm and jumping off, with the usual result of a broken limb, a reconciliation with the beloved object, and permanent lameness. Of late years the cocoa-nut-tree has become less fashionable for men who are in earnest. These generally prefer a precipice, or, if their despair be of the more deliberate kind, poison, which, being a mere infusion of bark or leaves, must be drunk in such large quantity that it more often produces vomiting than death. The ancient mode of execution in Tonga—putting the condemned adrift in leaky canoes—still occasionally survives as a method of suicide. In February a schooner, bound from Niuatobutabu to Nukualofa, picked up a derelict canoe floating unharmed, with her paddles and baler in her, and a crumpled letter which ran as follows:—

162 78982
810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274 b4 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
1820 2m454 m8 232.

The schooner's crew connected their discovery with the disappearance of two girls from Niua a few days before; but, not knowing the cipher, they brought the letter to the capital and handed it to Kubu. Tukuaho at once declared it to be written in a cipher known to most of

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

762 212 the younger generation of Tongans, and called the *Kaneli Tofu* cipher. He made a table thus—

K A N E L I T O F U
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

and the letter then read—

162 78982
Kia Tofua

810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274
Oku ikai te ma kataki ma ofa kia Foka te ma mate

bi 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
he oku ma ofa kiate kimoutolu ofa atu

1820 2m454 m8 232.
koau amele mo ana.

which being interpreted, ran—

To Tuua.

We two cannot endure our love for Foka; we would rather die. We send our love to you all. Farewell.

Amele and Ana.

762 It was a suicide. The poor girls had stolen the canoe, and had paddled themselves out of sight of land, and then, having scribbled their letter to their friend in cipher, they folded it, wrote the address on the back, and jumped overboard. I never heard what part Foka had played in the tragedy.

Persons intending suicide have also learned a lesson from the method of executions in Europe. Strangling with a cord of *ngatu* was common among the Polynesians of the olden time, but they seem never to have thought of hanging, and the idea at once struck them

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

as picturesque. Moreover, a man cannot very well strangle himself without help. A pretence of hanging is much resorted to by people who imagine themselves to be misunderstood, or who wish to frighten their friends into making some concession, because a dramatic effect can be produced with the least possible personal inconvenience.

Yet whenever confederates can be found to help, the South Sea Islander appears to prefer strangling to hanging. In Fiji a few years ago, when Australia was ringing with the achievements of the Kelly gang of bushrangers, a trader in Vanualevu, with the aid of a Sydney newspaper, was entertaining a gaping circle of Fijians by trying to make their flesh creep. In the minds of two of his listeners, youths from the neighbouring village, the seed fell upon a rich soil. Why should they be condemned to this life of spiritless toil in subjection to their chiefs and the Government, compelled to drudge in the fields and the tax-plantations, while the free, glorious bush lay behind them? If these foreigners, who could not exist without tinned meats, could live in the bush, how much more they who only wanted a wild yam or kaile roasted on the embers of an open fire? They could rob all the foreigners' stores, and with the plunder tempt the girls of the village to come and join them, and they would eat tinned meats and turkeys and fowls every day without having to pay for them or work to make money. They discreetly opened their project to one of their friends, but when he understood the full daring of the scheme he modestly withdrew, in words that were translated by the magistrate who afterwards held the inquest as, "Pardon me, but this thing is beyond my capacity."

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augumentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the